

Message Text

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ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 IO-13 ACDA-07 AID-05 ERDA-05 TRSE-00

OMB-01 AS-01 /087 W

-----033660 212256Z /64

P 210926Z JUN 77

FM AMEMBASSY SEOUL

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4636

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 SEOUL 5156

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: MARR US KS

SUBJECT: DIPLOMATIC CONSULTATIVE WORKING GROUP

REF: SEOUL 5076

SUMMARY: SECOND MEETING OF DIPLOMATIC WORKING-LEVEL GROUP ON TROOP WITHDRAWAL COVERED FIRST SECTION OF FOUR-POINT OUTLINE ROK PRESENTED JUNE 17 (REFTEL). AFTER EXCHANGE OVER PREMATURE PRESS ITEM ON MEETING, ROK SIDE PRESENTED A WORKING PAPER (PARA 3) AND U.S. SIDE NOTED PROBLEMS AND POINTS OF DISAGREEMENT (PARA 4). TWO SIDES AGREED TO MEET AGAIN JUNE 28 TO CONSIDER NEXT SECTIONS OF ROK OUTLINE.

END SUMMARY

1. SECOND SESSION OF WORKING-LEVEL CONSULTATIONS ON POLITICAL AND DIPLOMATIC ISSUES RELATED TO WITHDRAWAL OF U.S. GROUND TROOPS FROM KOREA TOOK PLACE JUNE 21 AT MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS. ASSISTANT MINISTER YI MUN-YONG HEADED ROK DELEGATION (OTHERS WERE SAME AS AT FIRST MEETING); U.S. PARTICIPANTS WERE DCM, POLCOUNS, AND EMBOFF.

2. DCM OPENED SESSION WITH STIFF PROTEST OVER APPEARANCE
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(BEFORE MEETING BEGAN) OF HAPTONG WIRE SERVICE ARTICLE PURPORTING TO COVER CONTENTS OF MEETING AND ASKED THAT STEOPS BE TAKEN SO THAT THIS NOT HAPPEN AGAIN. ASSISTANT MINISTER YI PROTESTED THAT MOFA HAD RELEASED ONLY STATEMENT AGREED ON AT FIRST MEETING AND THAT MOFA COULD NOT STOP PRESS SPECULATION. BOTH SIDES AGREED TO ISSUE NO PRESS RELEASE ON TODAY'S MEETING AND TO SAY ONLY THAT NEXT

MEETING WOULD BE HELD "SOME TIME NEXT WEEK."

3. MOVING INTO SUBJECT OF MEETING, ROK SIDE PRESENTED PAPER ON BACKGROUND OF ROK REQUEST FOR DIPLOMATIC COMPENSATORY MEASURES AS FOLLOWS:

BEGIN TEXT

A) AUGMENTATION OF DETERRENT CAPABILITY

1. THE PLNNED WITHDRAWAL OF THE U.S. GROUND COMBAT TROOPS FROM KOREA DIFFERS FUNDAMENTALLY FROM THE REDUCTION OF 1971 IN ITS IMPACTS ON THE SECURITY OF ROK.

2. OUR DETERRENT CAPABILITY AGAINST NORTH KOREA WILL BE DECISIVELY WEAKENED IF THE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL THE U.S. GOUND COMBATHUROOPS FROM KOREA IS CARRIED OUT.

3. THE ADVERSE EFFECTS ON THE ROK SECURITY WILL BE EVEN MORE PROMINENT IF THE TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS ARE REMOVED ALONG WITH THE GROUND FORCES.

4. THE POSSIBLE MISCALCULATION AND EXPANSIONIST POLICY OF NORTH KOREA AND ITS ALLIES MUST BE PREVENTED BY THE MANIFESTATION OF UNEQUIVOCAL DETERMINATION AND CONCRETE MEASURES FOR THE U.S. COMMITMENT TO THE SECURITY OF ROK.
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5. ADVERSE PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPACTS ON THE PEOPLES OF ROK AND NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES BECAUSE OF THE WITHDRAWAL SHOULD BE MINIMIZED.

B) REAFFIRMATION OF U.S. DEFENSE COMMITMENT TO THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA

1. THE ROK-US MUTUAL DEFENSE TREATY STIPULATES THAT IN CASE OF AN EXTERNAL ARMED ATTACK, ROK AND US "WOULD CT TO MEET THE COMMON DANGER IN ACCORDANCE WITH ITS CONSTITUTIONAL PROCESSES."

2. NORTH KOREA HAS BILATERAL TREATIES FOR MILITARY ASSISTANCE WITH BOTH USSR AND PRC. EACH TREATY DECLARES THAT "THE OTHER CONTRACTIN PARTY WILL IMMEDIATELY RENDER ITS MILITARY AND OTHER ASSISTANCE WITH ALL MEANS AT ITS DISPOSAL."

3. CONSIDERING THE SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE IN COMMITMENTS, IT IS HIGHLY DESIRABLE TO DECLARE THE FIRM AND CLEAR DETERMINATION OF US SECURITY COMMITMENT TO ROK IN THE

STRONGEST TERMS IN CONNECTION WITH THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE
US GROUND TROOPS FROM KOREA.

C) STRONG WARNING AGAINST POSSIBLE NORTH KOREAN
MISCALCULATION

1. IN VIEW OF THE CONTINUING TENSION ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA
RESULTING FROM THE UNCHANGED SCHEME OF NORTH KOREA TO
COMMUNIZE THE WHOLE PENINSULA BY FORCE, NAMELY:

A. PUBLICLY ANNOUNCED STATEMENTS THAT NORTH KOREA HAS
COMPLETED ITS READINESS OF ANOTHER PREPARATION FOR WAR AND
THAT NORTH KOREA WOULD SUPPORT THE SO-CALLED "REVOLUTION
IN SOUTH KOREA";
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B. NORTH KOREA'S SUPERIOR AIRNAVAL FORCE, FIRE POWERS,
AN ARMORED VEHICLES;

C. NORTH KOREA'S ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES AND INTERNAL
INSTABILITY;

D. NORTH KOREA'S CONTINUED REPUDIATION OF THE CONSTRUCTIVE
PROPOSALS INITIATED BY ROK FOR ESTABLISHING PEACE AND
SECURITY ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA, ETC.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 SEOUL 5156

2. NORTH KOREA'S INTERPRETATION OF THE US TROOPS WITHDRAWAL AS AN INDICATION OF THE US RETREAT AND PROPAGATING IT AS A VICTORY FOR THE KIM IL-SONG LINE.

3. THE DANGER THAT NORTH KOREA MIGHT DECIDE THAT U.S. WOULD NOT REINTRODUCE GROUND TROOPS ONCE IT IS WITHDRAWN AND THUS ENCOURAGE NORTH KOREA TO ENGAGE IN RENEWED HOSTILITIES.

4. IT IS MOST IMPERATIVE TO ISSUE A WARNING TO NORTH KOREA NOT TO MISCONSTRUE THE US TROOP WITHDRAWAL AS A WEAKNESS OF THE JOINT ROK-US DETERMINATION.

5. IT IS STRONGLY URGED TO CALL UPON NORTH KOREA TO RESPOND POSITIVELY TO ROK PROPOSALS SUCH AS REOPENING OF SOUTH-NORTH DIALOGUE AND THE CONCLUSION OF SOUTH-NORTH NON-AGGRESSION AGREEMENT.

D) REASSURANCE OF IMMEDIATE ASSISTANCE IN CASE OF AN EMERGENCY

1. IN ORDER TO AUGMENT THE WEAKENED DETERRENT CAPABILITY RESULTING FROM THE US GROUND TROOP WITHDRAWAL, THE US SHOULD EXPRESS ITS FIRM DETERMINATION TO DEFEND THE ROK IN THE EVENT OF AN ATTACK FROM THE NORTH.

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2. IN CASE OF AN ALL-OUT ATTACK OR FULL-SCALE INVASION FROM NORTH KOREA WITH OR WITHOUT ASSISTANCE FROM ITS ALLIES, US SHOULD ASSURE THE ROK THAT IT WILL PROMPTLY RENDER MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO THE ROK USING ALL MEANS, INCLUDING NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND GROUND TROOPS. ESPECIALLY, THERE SHOULD BE IMMEDIATE AND EFFECTIVE INVOLVEMENT OF US AIR AND NAVAL FORCES TOGETHER WITH LOGISTIC SUPPORT TO THE ROK.

E) POSSESSION OF NUCLEAR DETERRENT CAPABILITY

1. THE REMOVAL OF TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS, WHICH HAVE PLAYED A VITAL ROLE OF THE DETERRENT POWER AGAINST THE RECURRENCE OF HOSTILITY BY NORTH KOREA, WILL INCREASE THE DANGER OF RENEWED HOSTILITIES.

2. IT IS DESIRABLE THAT NUCLEAR WEAPONS BE CONTINUOUSLY DEPLOYED IN KOREA TO DETER EFFECTIVELY NORTH KOREAN PROVOCATIONS AND ITS EXPANSIONIST POLICY.

3. IT IS DESIRABLE THAT THE US PUBLICLY EXPRESS ITS RESOLVE TO USE EVEN NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN THE EVENT OF RENEWED HOSTILITIES IN KOREA. END TEXT

4. SUBSEQUENT DISCUSSION BROUGHT OUT FOLLOWING POINTS:

A. REGARDING POINT A/5., ASST. MINISTER YI EXPLAINED THAT MENTION OF "ROK AND NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES" REFERS TO STATEMENTS BY SINGAPORE'S LEE KWAN-YU AND NEWSPAPERS IN OTHER ASEAN COUNTRIES.

B. IN RESPONSE TO SECTION A AS A WHOLE, DCM NOTED FOR THE RECORD THAT U.S. DOES NOT SHARE ALL CONCERNS ROKG RAISED, BECAUSE COMPENSATORY MEASURES SHOULD OFFSET EFFECTS OF CONFIDENTIAL

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WITHDRAWAL.

C. CONCERNING POINT B/3., YI EXPLAINED ROK SIDE WOULD TRY TO FIND APPROPRIATELY CLEAR AND CONVEINCING WORKING FOR DECLARATION OF U.S. SECURITY COMMITMENT "IN THE STRONGEST TERMS". DCM REMINDED ROK SIDE OF U.S. CONSTITUTIONAL PROCESSES, NOTED THAT SECRETARY GANCE'S SPEECH ON JUNE 29 WILL SHOW EVIDENCE OF U.S. ATTENTION TO ROK CONCERNS, AND EXPRESSED HOPE ROKG WILL BE ABLE TO ISSUE SUPPORTING STATEMENT AT THAT TIME. POLCOUNS NOTED THAT USG HAS NO PROBLEM WITH STRON CONFIRMATION DEFENSE TREATY, BUT TO ATTEMPT TO EXPAND ON LANGUAGE OF TREATY WOULD CAUSE PROBLEMS.

D. IN CONNECTION WITH POINT C AS A WHOL, YI ADMITTED THAT NORTH KOREA SO FAR HAS BEEN SILENT ON U.S. PLAN FOR WITHDRAWAL (EXCEPT ONE REFERENCE TO EDITORIAL IN VIENTIANE PAPER 6 - 8 WEEKS AGO), AS IF NORTH KOREANS HAVE NOT YET MADE UP THEIR MINDS ABOUT ISSUE.

E. DCM SUGGESTED THAT POINT C/1.D BE CORRECTED TO READ "BY ROK AND U.S.", AND, SIMILARLY, POINT C/5. TO READ "TO ROK OR U.S. PROPOSALS." POL COUNS NOTED IT WOULD BE USEFUL, AT SOME POINT IN CONSULTATIONS, TO HAVE BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF LINKAGE PRESIDENT PAK MADE LAST JANUARY BETWEEN NON-AGGRESSION PACT AND U.S. TROOP WITHDRAWAL.

F. YI PARTICULARLY STRESSED IMPORTANCE ROK SIDE PLACES ON POINT D/2., IN VIEW OF TROOP WITHDRAWAL. DCM POINTED OUT U.S. CONSTITUTIONAL LIMITATIONS AND NOTED THAIS ISSUE HAS BEEN DISCUSSED FOR SOME 20 YEARS. HE PLEDGED TO TAKE NOTE OF IMPORTANCE ROK ATTACHES TO THIS POINT.

G. WITH RESPECT TO SECTION E, DCM NOTED PROBLEM IN THAT USG DOES NOT TALK PUBLICLY ABOUT NUCLEAR WEAPONS. DCM ALSO POINTED OUT UNWARRANTEDNESS OF LINKAGE ROK'S ARE APPARAENTLY MAKING BETWEEN PRESENCE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS
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IN AN AREA AND COVERAGE OF THAT AREA BY U.S. NUCLEAR UMBRELLA.

5. BOTH SIDES AGREED TO HOLD NEXT MEETING ON TUESDAY, JUNE 28.

6. COMMENT. IT IS OBVIOUS THAT MOFA IS JUST ESTABLISHING
A RECORD FOR ITSELF. WE WILL CONTINUE TO REBUFF THESE EFFORTS AND
TO DISABURE ROKG FROM ANY UNREALISTIC EXPECTATIONS. REAL ISSUES
WILL EMERGE WHEN WE SIT DOWN TO DISCUSS SCM COMMUNIQUE AND RELATED
ISSUES.

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